1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

with that which has already been reviewed, might make it possible to determine the demography of the Benguela Highland prior to the formation of the Umbundu kingdoms. It is also further evidence as to the demographic make-up of the Ovimbundu. Some of these recurring place-names evidently represent elements which now constitute separate entities outside the Umbundu kingdoms, although they probably made contributions to the formation of those kingdoms. Others represent elements which probably moved away from the earlier invasions from the north but stayed in their new sites to amalgamate with later arrivals. Some may represent successive splittings-off from a stock which thus settled at various places. Many recurrent place-names could be shown both in this region and outside the language-grouping.

Attitudes toward Other Tribes. Attitudes of the Ovimbundu towards the various neighbouring tribes are instructive. Mention has already been made of the attitude of the southern 'Bangala' people in their inclusion of the Ovimbundu of Kalukembe within their own system of exogamy. The Ovimbundu recognize a common humanity with the peoples who are their neighbours both on the south and on the north. They are all *omanu*,[1] people, or even *vakuetu*, comrades. Similar recognition is not extended to the eastern and south-eastern neighbours who are lumped together under the derogatory term of 'va Ngangela' or *ovinganjela*.[2] This eastern region as far as the Great Lakes was the happy hunting-ground of the slave-traders from Viye and from Bailundu. There is a term *olongoya* which is applied to the northern neighbours, but without the derogatory connotation of 'Ngangela'. *Olongoya* has a linguistic connotation as did *barbaroi* in the Greek, and refers to the fact that these neighbours speak what is to the Ovimbundu an unintelligible language. How much of rationalization there may be in these attitudes and prejudices one cannot say, but it seems that in them there is some recognition of tribal origins and relationships, of the fact that across the Benguela Highland migrations have swept from north to south.

Conclusion. In consideration of the above evidence, it is now possible to draw conclusions concerning the origin of the Ovi-

[1] *Omanu* is the Umbundu equivalent for the Nguni *abantu*, which has come to be applied to the whole language family.

[2] This Umbundu attitude is best illustrated by the proverb 'As a grass hut is not a house, so an *ocingangela* (singular) is not a person (*omanu*).'

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an elevation of 4,000 feet or more, and the boundaries of Ovimbundu territory closely correspond with this area.(1) Ovimbundu are found also in regions adjoining the Highland, and Umbundu-speaking groups stretch as far as the Atlantic coast-line, between the towns of Loanda and Benguella. Ovimbundu country is divided between the Administrative Provinces of Bie, Benguella, and Huila, in the Districts of Benguella, Huambo, Cuanza Sul, Bie and Huila.

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NEIGHBOURING TRIBES

To the east and south-east of the Ovimbundu are the Luimbe, Luchaze, Mbunda, Mbwela, etc., for all of whom the Ovimbundu use the derogatory term *Ngangela*, or *Ganguella* in the Portuguese version.(2) The Ovimbundu attitude towards these people is illustrated in the proverb "as a grass hut is not a house, so an *ocingangela* is not a person".(3) This eastern region was a favourite hunting-ground for slave-traders from Viye and Bailundu.

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To the north-east are the Chokwe, Bangala and Songo peoples, who are related to the Lunda group.(4)

To the west and south of the Ovimbundu are cattle-keeping peoples - the Nganda, Ndombe, Hanya, Cilenge, Cipungu, Huila, Nyaneka, Mulondo and Khumbi. These form a fairly homogeneous cultural group, and are in certain respects similar to the southern Ovimbundu.(5) Childs, following Estermann,(6) uses the collective name *"Bangala"* in referring to them, but in order to avoid confusion with the Bangala tribe to the north-east, this usage is not adopted here. Still further south are the Ambo and Herero, also cattle-keepers.

The tribes to the north of the Ovimbundu - Esela, Cipala, Lupolo, Ndongo or Kimbundo etc. - belong to the western or Angola 'cluster' of the Congo people.(7) The Esele (Vesele) and Mbui (Amboim) may also belong to this group, but have not yet been surely classified.(8) The northern tribes are sometimes collectively called by the Ovimbundu *Olongoya*, a term which implies that they speak a language unintelligible to the Ovimbundu, but which has not the derogatory sense of *"Ngangela"*.(9) Unlike the eastern peoples, the peoples to the south and north of the Ovimbundu are recognised as *omanu* (people), or even *vakuetu* (comrades).(10)

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DEMOGRAPHY

The 1940 Angola Census(11) estimates the number of Ovimbundu (Mbundo) as 1,331,087, of whom 694,504 are females, 636,583 males. Childs(12) points out that this number should be decreased by at least 150,000 owing to the erroneous inclusion of several small non-Ovimbundu tribal groups.

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(1) See map.
(2) See McCulloch, 1951, p.52.
(3) The term used for "person" in the proverb is *omanu*, a "potential" person - a word used for adolescents. See pp. below.
(4) The Bangala are sometimes held to be related to the Congo rather than the Lunda group.
(5) See below, p.
(6) 1935, pp.45-69.
(7) Childs, 1945, p.8.
(8) Ibid.
(9) Ibid., p.189.
(10) Ibid. p.x.
(11) Quoted by Mendes Correia, 1943, p.423, and Sarmento, 1948.
(12) 1949, p.9.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
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meet other Angolan Protestants through such occasions as the Congress of Evangelical Youth, held at Malange in 1955.

While the Catholic missions are not tied to the Ovimbundu in the same way as the Protestants the number of their adherents falls sharply when the Umbundu boundary is reached. Responsiveness to missionary activity is a mark of the Ovimbundu today just as was participation in the caravan trade. Indeed, the main common possession of the Ovimbundu, the Umbundu language, is, as a literary vehicle and object of study, almost a missionary monopoly. Both missions produce a monthly magazine in Umbundu and Portuguese, and several books of a religious or educational nature have been published with Umbundu on one side and Portuguese on the other as legally required. The dictionaries and grammars are almost all of missionary authorship.

Acceptance of Christianity has also significance for Umbundu self-consciousness. The majority of Ovimbundu have come under missionary influence in varying degrees, and conversion to Christianity makes Ovimbundu feel closer to Europeans and superior to other African peoples. I have heard African priests claim that the Ovimbundu are the best people in Angola, largely on this ground, and at Lobito and Luanda tensions have been felt in the Protestant community between Ovimbundu and members of other tribes.[11]

The Ovimbundu live under economic, political, and religious systems introduced and controlled by Europeans. Yet trader, official, and missionary are all dependent on the Ovimbundu. The 'civilized' and the native live in symbiosis, and the two basic problems of this study are the nature of this symbiosis, and its relation to the social system of the native population themselves. To see this symbiosis in perspective it is necessary to describe what occupations and statuses Africans can hold.

The strict segregation of black and white found in South Africa is alien to Portuguese traditions. There is a lack of almost all forms of public segregation between white and non-white.[12]

[11] Personal information.

[12] In the racial discrimination that does exist the mulattoes generally count as whites. It is said to be difficult for a full African to obtain accommodation in a Luanda hotel, but the situation for mulattoes is quite different.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
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that the Government is benevolent even if its agents are not, and men say that they like the Europeans. There are other opposed currents of feeling, though; thus a cook to a European family said to me, 'The Portuguese do not wish us to learn' and a villager declared, 'The Portuguese say to the English that the Ovimbundu have tails.'[39] The great mass of the Ovimbundu seemed to be without political consciousness, or desire for independence; there is little nostalgia for the days of the caravans, and it is widely felt that the present is better than the past, since there is more contact with Europeans.

Traders in the neighbourhood were relatively few, compared to other parts of Umbundu country. At Chicunda there were three trading stores and people who did not like them went across the river to Cassongue. Traders try to prevent natives who live in their neighbourhood from dealing at other stores where they can get better prices, but this is not always effective. Some Ovimbundu realize that variations of price levels are related to such factors as proximity to the railway line. The traders are criticized for paying their servants low wages as compared with those paid in the coastal cities. Although there is a great deal of mutual suspicion between the traders and the Ovimbundu which is expressed in the arguing and haggling that takes place in the stores, there is none of the fear so noticeable in the people's attitudes to the *chefes*. Many traders have a smattering of Umbundu, and have a certain affection for the local people. Economically, the role of the traders is to receive the maize and other products grown locally for transport to the railway line, and to distribute trade goods to the villages. Their presence is also important in preventing the rise of any other system of trading by markets or pedlars.

The principal goods sold are blankets, cloths, and clothing of all sorts, including fancy items such as sun-glasses. There are also a good many bottles of wine, and also oil-lamps and kerosene tins, and electric torches. For literates or would-be literates, there are pens, pencils, writing-papers and slates. Such goods as bicycles, gramophones, and sewing-machines are generally

[39] i.e. The Portuguese say the Ovimbundu are savages and keep them from contact with other Europeans. The Bailundo area had not (up to September 1961) been affected by the revolt. However, a marked change in this attitude of submissiveness seems to have taken place.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
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795 551 attempt to take on European surnames. Alternatively, a man may take his father's name and attempt to use it as a surname. Thus Joaõ Batista Tjindandi, a resident of Epalanga, had received Joaõ Batista in baptism, and had taken Tjindandi, his father's name, as a surname. This is, however, not at all a general trend. Even a village of mixed Christian-pagan population may be known by the name of its school, identifying itself by its Christian name.

795 554 A man identifies himself also with social change and with progress by 'entering the school'. When a small girl, whom I asked if she had 'entered into the school' replied 'Not at all', her elder sister's husband remarked: 'She is asleep'. In the general Angolan society the religious referent is the most status-giving type of reference that most Ovimbundu can give.

● 186 554 There is no very marked feeling in the superiority of one area of Umbundu country to another nor even is there a marked sense of the superiority of Ovimbundu to other tribes—thus the Kimbundu will be highly praised for the degree of European culture they have acquired. The very word Ovimbundu is used as an equivalent of '*pretos*' (blacks) a word not used of 'civilized' Africans, since it is indicative of the lowest colour-class. As a Christian, a man has a status which he shares with Europeans.

797 648 He can also identify himself not only in a general way with the Europeans but more particularly with the general church organization. There is much closer contact between the authority-figures of the church organization and the people than between the authority-figures of the administration and the natives. Thus all Catholics in the Nova Lisboa diocese are confirmed by the Bishop of Nova Lisboa, and have seen him—similarly many of the Protestant Ovimbundu know of Dr. Childs, the headmaster of the Protestant secondary school at Dondi, through having heard him preach at a conference. Some Christian villagers would know the names of pioneer missionaries. Little is known by the people about the personalities or duties of the senior members of their administration, and even their titles are not properly understood.

795 648 The religious differences which exist at local level have no marked significance in the relations of natives to the post. In certain circumstances a pagan may appeal to a Christian